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*Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Preterite Tenses of the Indicative.*—By LOUIS H. GRAY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

THE question of the signification of the past tenses of the indicative in the Avesta is one of the most important in the study of the syntax of the sacred language of Iran.<sup>1</sup> The distinctions between the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect must be examined and the results of the investigation must ever be kept in mind if the full meaning of the Avesta texts is to be won. The force of the tenses of the Avestan has twice been made the subject of rigid investigation, first by Bartholomae Altiran. Verb. (1878) 220–240, and second by Spiegel Vgl. Gramm. der altérân. Spr. (1882) 491–496. The progress made in the interpretation of the Avesta since these two works appeared is a sufficient ground for a reconsideration of this problem.

The position won with regard to the force of the tenses of the Sanskrit, and especially of the Vedic dialect, is my starting point. The doctrines taught by Pāṇini concerning the Indian tenses are as follows. The aorist expresses past time (*lun*, iii, 2, 110); the imperfect denotes an act performed on some day other than the present one (*anadyatane lan*, iii, 2, 111 as contrasted with *adyatana*=aorist, Vārttika 2 to Pāṇini ii, 4, 3; Vārttika 3 to Pāṇini vi, 4, 114); the perfect signifies an act performed at a time when the speaker was not present (*parokṣe lit*, iii, 2, 115). The conclusions drawn by Delbrück, who has given Pāṇini the tribute which is his due (Vgl. Synt. ii, 273) may be summarized briefly. The imperfect is the tense of narration (Altind. Tempusl. 90, 132, Altind. Synt. 279, Vgl. Synt. ii, 268, 309); the aorist simply states that a given act was performed, or that a given event occurred at some time past (“Es kommt bei der aoristischen

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper, like its companion study, “Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence”, Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci. xiii, 549–588, is intended to be preliminary to the forthcoming “Avesta Syntax” of my teacher, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. His counsel, ever cheerfully given, is highly appreciated by me, and from his rich collection of material, kindly placed at my disposal in manuscript, I have received much valuable assistance.

Aeusserung der Gesichtspunkt der Zeitdauer gar nicht in Betracht. Es wird ja nur betont, dass eine Handlung überhaupt in der Erscheinung getreten sei", Altind. Synt. 280, see also Altind. Tempusl. 128–129, 131, Vgl. Synt. ii, 240, 302–303, 309); the perfect signifies the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Synt. ii, 177, 213, 269, 275, 309, cf. also Altind. Synt. 298, Altind. Tempusl. 100–101, 112, 131–132). In the Brähmana period of the Sanskrit the perfect is used as a tense of narration besides the imperfect (Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 131, Altind. Synt. 300–301, Vgl. Synt. ii, 271–275, Whitney, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. xxiii, 85–94, Speyer, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 52). The conclusions of Speyer, Skt. Synt. 246–257, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 51–54 are in close accord with those of Delbrück.<sup>1</sup> Paul's *Prinzipien der sprachgeschichte*<sup>2</sup> 251 should be consulted in this connection.

The views concerning the tense-force of the Avesta which were expressed by Bartholomae and Spiegel may be summed up in a few words. According to the former of these two scholars the Iranian aorist, like the Greek, expresses an inchoative or an instantaneous act ("Der iranische aorist dient, wie der griechische, zum ausdruck der eintretenden, auf einen schlag vollzogenen handlung," Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 223, cf. Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 624), and he considers the imperfect to be preëminently the descriptive tense in Iranian as it is in Indian. The perfect is used, according to this scholar, in a present or in a preterite sense, or else it possesses no tense-force whatever (Altiran. Verb. 237). Spiegel agrees with Bartholomae in regard to the tense-force of the aorist and imperfect (Vgl. Gramm. 491, 493), but in his view the perfect denotes either a mere preterite, or else the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Gramm. 495). The pluperfect tense occurs very rarely in the Avesta. In Bartholomae's opinion (Altiran. Verb. 240) it has merely the force of the ordinary imperfect. Similarly,

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, Skt. Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 779, like other scholars, regarded the imperfect as the tense of narration. His theory, however, that the aorist "signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present" (§ 928, cf. also §§ 927, 929–30) is less acceptable in my judgment. The perfect, even in the Veda, was to him "the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present" (§ 823, cf. also §§ 821b, 822, and Pāṇini *chandasī lit.*, iii, 2, 105). This conception of the force of the perfect tense seems to me to be somewhat inexact.

with reference to the Sanskrit pluperfect, Delbrück supposes that this tense is sometimes equivalent to the imperfect as being a tense of narration and sometimes to the aorist as being past in time (Vgl. Synt. ii, 228, 275–276, 309, Altind. Tempusl. 113, 132, Whitney, Skt. Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 532a, cf. also Speyer, Skt. Synt. 256–257). This view does not seem to be supported by the Avesta. There, in my opinion, the pluperfect represents what we should expect from its formation in the perfect system. It appears to denote the result in past time of a previous action or event, and it does not appear to have the value of a simple preterite tense.

It is almost self-evident that the Younger Avesta shows a steady decline in ability to distinguish sharply between the various preterite tenses. This is true especially of the aorist, which is practically supplanted by the imperfect and occurs but seldom (Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227, Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 491, 494). The decreasing frequency of the aorist and the absorption of the aoristic functions by the imperfect in epic and classical Sanskrit is closely analogous (cf. Avery, JAOS. x, 319).

In the consideration of the force of the imperfect and aorist tenses in the Avesta a considerable difficulty meets the investigator at the very outset. While the Old Persian employs the augment in all the occurrences of the imperfect and aorist, the Avesta has very few augmented forms (Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 343–344, Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 57, 60–62; Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 56, 189–190; Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 466). The danger of confounding true imperfects and aorists with injunctives is, therefore, a serious one. Especially is this the case in the Gāθās, the very part of the Iranian scriptures where clearness were most desirable. Here the confusion between the past tenses of the indicative and the injunctive is the greatest. Many passages of the Gāθās may be interpreted equally well either as laid by Zarathushtra in time past, or, owing to the marked eschatological spirit which pervades these psalms, as referring to future time and especially to the Resurrection. In the Younger Avesta this difficulty is, fortunately, less serious, owing to the relative simplicity of the thought and style. In all passages considered in this study which possess traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit these ancient translations have been taken into account.

I have necessarily adopted a uniform rendering of the past tenses. The imperfect is translated in all instances by the English narrative tense ('he said'), the aorist by the auxiliary

'did' (he 'did say'), the perfect and its preterite, the pluperfect, by the auxiliaries 'has', 'had', ('he has said' 'he had said').

### I. Sentences containing the imperfect only.

In the following passages will be found examples of the imperfect indicative used as the tense of simple narration or description according to the theory set forth above.

#### a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 29. 8 :

*aēm mōi idā vistō yō nō aēvō sāsnāt gūšatā  
zaraθuštrō spītāmō : hvō nō mazdā vaštī ašāicā  
čarəkərəθrā srāvayešhē hyat̄ hōi hudəməm dyāi vaxədrāhyā.*

'this man here hath been found for me, who alone heard our commandments, Zarathushtra Spītāma. He wisheth, O Mazda and Asha, to recite the duties when I shall give him a goodly upbuilding of speech.'

(Note the variant *guštā* K 37, C 1 for *gušatā* which Neryosengh renders by *cuṣrāva*.)

Ys. 30. 6 :

*ayāt nōit̄ erəš vīšyātā daēvāčinā hyat̄ iš ā dəbaomā  
pərəsmanōng upā-jaſat̄ hyat̄ vərənātā ačišəm manō :  
at̄ aēšəməm həndvārəntā yā bənayən ahūm marətānō.*

'of the two the demons decided not aright, since deceit came upon them as they questioned when they chose the Worst Mind. Then they rushed together unto Wrath to defile the life of man.'

(The tradition renders *višyāta* by the present *vīžnēnd*, *vivijanti*, but *upā-jaſat̄* and *həndvārəntā* by *maťo hōmand*, *upāgacchat*, and *dūbārast hōmand*, *durāgacchan*.)

Ys. 31. 11 :

*hyat̄ nō mazdā paourvīm gaēθāsčā tašō daēnāsčā  
θwā manavhā xratūščā hyat̄ astvantəm dadā uštanəm  
hyat̄ šyaοθanāčā sənghasčā yaθrā varənōng vasā dāyete.*

'when first thou, Mazda, shapedst for us lives and consciences and wisdoms through thy Mind, when thou madest the body corporeal, (when thou madest) deeds and words whereby one may at will profess his beliefs.'

(The Pahlavī and Sanskrit tradition renders *tašō* by *tāšīt*, *ghati-tavān*, and *dadā* by *dāt̄*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 32. 1:

*ahyācā x<sup>o</sup>aētuš yāsa<sup>z</sup> ahyā vərəzənəm ma<sup>z</sup> airyamnā  
ahyā daēvā mahmī manōi ahurahyā urvāzemā mazdā:  
θwōi dūtānōhō ḥānāmā tōng dārayō yōi vā daibišəntī.*

‘of him he asked as kinsman, of him (he asked) as serf together with the confederate, of him the demons (asked): In my mind (I am) a friend of Ahura Mazda. May we be thy messengers ! Them art thou to hold (in restraint) who hate you.’

(The tradition renders *yāsa<sup>z</sup>* by *bavīhūnast*.)

Ys. 34. 8:

*tāiš zī nāt̄ šyaoθanāiš byentē yaēšū as pairī pourubyō iθyejō  
hyāt̄ as aojyā nāidyānōhōm θwāhyā mazdā qstā urvātahyā  
yōi nōi<sup>z</sup> ašəm maiyantā aēibyō dūirē voħū as manō.*

‘by these deeds they affright us with whom there was destruction for many, since he was the stronger against the weaker(?), an oppressor of thy doctrine, Mazda: the Good Mind was far from them who regarded not Righteousness.’

(We may also regard *maiyanṭā* and *as* as injunctives, cf. the traditional renderings by *mīnēnd*, *manyante* and *barā . . . aītō, asti*.)

Ys. 43. 8:

*at̄ hōi aojī zaraθuštrō paourvīm  
haiθyō dvaēšā hyāt̄ isōyā drəgvāitē  
at̄ ašāunē rafṣnō ḥyēm aojōnghvat̄.*

‘then to him I, Zarathushtra, spake: May I be a true foe, as far as I can, of the wicked, but a mighty joy to the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *aojī* by *gūft*, *pratyavocat*.)

Ys. 44. 6 :

*ta<sup>z</sup> θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā  
yā fravaaxšyā yezi tā aθā haiθyā  
ašəm šyaoθanāiš dəbəzaitī ārmaitiš  
taibyō xšaθram voħū čin as mananħā  
kaēibyō azim rānyō-skərətīm gqm tašō.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord, whether what I shall pronounce is true indeed : doth Armaiti advance Righteousness by her deeds ? The Good Mind taught thy Kingdom ; for whom shapedst thou the joy-giving cow Azi ?’

(The tradition renders *činas* by *čāsēt*, *āsvādayati*, and *tašō* by *tāšīt*, *aghātayah*.)

Ys. 45. 5 :

*at̄ fravaxšyā hyaṭ̄ mōi mraoṭ̄ spəntōtəmō  
vač̄ srūidyāi hyaṭ̄ marətaēibyō vahištəm.*

‘and I shall pronounce what the Holiest said unto me, the word which is best for mortals to hear.’

(The tradition renders *mraoṭ̄* by *gūft*, *abrvit̄*.)

Ys. 46. 17 :

*yabrā v̄ō afšmānī sənghānī  
nōiṭ̄ anafšmām dējāmāspā hvō-gvā  
hadā vəstā vahməng səraošā rādānəhō  
ȳō v̄ič̄ i n a o ṭ̄ dāθəmčā adāθəmčā  
dangrā mantū ašā mazdā ahurō.*

‘where I shall announce your measures, not unmeasured, O wise Hvogvian Jāmāspa, prayers with your creation through obedience to the generous giver, who, even Mazda Ahura, decided between good and evil with his wise councillor Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders *vīčinaoṭ̄* by *barā višnēt̄*, *vivinakti*.)

Ys. 48. 5 :

*gavōi vərəzýat̄am t̄am nō x̄arəθāi f̄shuyō.*

‘let them work for the cow whom thou madest to thrive for our food.’

(The tradition renders *f̄shuyō* by *sphitayati*.)

Examples of the imperfect injunctive may be quoted from the Gāθās in this connection. In the two passages here chosen the injunctive value of the augmentless imperfect form is supported by the traditional renderings. In the majority of cases, however, the decision whether a passage contains an imperfect indicative or an injunctive becomes almost entirely a matter of subjective judgment. Perhaps we may go so far as to say that the double force of the augmentless form was intended by the great Prophet, whose vivid imagination beheld the future oftentimes as the past.

Ys. 34. 9 :

*yōi spənt̄am ārmait̄im ḥwahyā mazdā bərəxđam vīdušō  
duš̄-šyaoθanā av azazat̄ vənəhāuš əvist̄i mananəhō  
aēibyō maš̄ ašā syazdaṭ̄ yavaṭ̄ ahmaṭ̄ aurunā xrafstrā.*

‘those who know that Spenta Armaiti is beloved of thee, O Mazda, (but who) are to fall away through evil doing through ignorance of the Good Mind, from them Righteousness

is to withdraw afar, as from us the wild noxious creatures (are to withdraw).'

(The tradition renders *avarazat* by *barā sedkūnyēn, parikṣep-syanti*, but *syazdat* by *prabhraçyati*.)

Ys. 44. 15.

*tať ḡwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā  
yezī ahyā ašā pōi mať xšayehū  
hyat hēm spādā anaočanhhā jamaētē  
avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā dīdərəžō  
kuθrā ayā kahmāi vananām da dā.*

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord : whether thou hast power through Righteousness over him to ward (him) off from me ; when the two hostile hosts shall come together on account of those doctrines which thou art to desire to have maintained, unto which of the twain art thou to give the victory ?'

(The tradition glosses *dīdərəžō* as eschatological ; *aēy, Dīnō rūbākīh bündak yehēvūnēt dēn zak damānō ; kila, Dineh pravṛttīh sampūrṇā bhavisyati antah tasmin kāle*. It renders *dadā* by *yehabūnī-aīt, dāsyati*).<sup>1</sup>

### b. Younger Avesta.

The imperfect retains its original force unchanged in the younger Avesta. It has, furthermore, absorbed for the most part the functions of the aorist tense. The imperfect is very frequent in the younger Avesta. A very few examples from this portion of the texts will suffice to show the force of the imperfect in the later period of the language.

Ys. 9. 15 (YAv. verse):

*tūm zəmargūzō ākərənavō  
vīspe daēva zaraθuštra.*

'thou, Zarathushtra, madest all the demons to hide beneath the earth.'

(The tradition renders *ākərənavō* by *kart hōmanih, akarot*.)

Ys. 57. 17 (YAv. verse):

*yō nōiť pasčāēta hušx<sup>o</sup>afa  
yat mainyū dāmān da iđitəm.*

<sup>1</sup> Further examples of the imperfect injunctive in Avestan are given by Gray, Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci. xii, 563-574.

‘who hath not slept after that the two spirits created the creation.’

(The tradition renders *daiδitəm* by *yehabūnīt*. The variant *hušx<sup>v</sup>afayač* J 15 for the perf. part. *hušx<sup>v</sup>afa* [Jackson, Reader 109, but perf. ind.—cf. Skt. *susvāpa*—Bartholomae, Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 204] is noteworthy.)

Yt. 5. 127-129 (YAv. verse):

*minum barat̄ hvāzāta  
arədvī sūra anāhita  
upa tam srīram manaoθrim  
hā hē maiδim nyāzata . . .  
upairi pusam bandayata . . .  
bawraini vastrāt̄ vanhata . . .*

‘the well-born Ardvi Sūra Anāhita wore a collar upon her fair neck, she girt her waist, . . . she bound on a crown, . . . she clad herself in beaver robes.’

(Note the variant *bandayeti*—present—J 10 for *bandayata*.)

Yt. 8. 38 (YAv. verse):

*avi dim ahurō mazdāt̄  
avān aməšāt̄ spēnta  
vouru-gaoyaoitiš hē miθrō  
pouru pant̄ym fračaēšaētəm  
ā dim paskāt̄ an umarəzatəm  
ašišča vanuhi bərəzaiti  
pārendiča raoraθa  
vīspəm ā ahmāt̄ yač aēm  
paiti-apayat̄ vazəmnō  
x<sup>v</sup>anvantəm avi gairim.*

‘Ahura Mazda and the Amshaspands assisted him, Mithra, the lord of broad pastures [and Ahura—see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta ii, 425 n. 85] taught him the road in full, after him swept along both the lofty Ashi Vanuhi and Pārendi of the swift chariot, all the time until he reached in his course the mountain Hvanvant.’

Ys. 13. 77-78 (YAv. verse):

*yač titarat̄ aṣrō mainyuš  
kāhīm ašahe vanhāuš  
antare pairi-apāitəm  
vohuča manō ātaršča*

78 *tā hē taurvayatəm tbaēśāt  
aṣrahe mainyəus drvatō  
yat nōit āpō takāiš stayat  
nōit urvarā uruθmabyō  
hakat sārahe daθusō  
xšayatō ahurahe mazdā  
frātači n āpō səvištā  
uzuxšy qnča urvarā.*

'when Anra Mainyu crossed the creation of good Righteousness, both the Good Mind and the Fire came to help, they [the Fravashis] overcame the malicious acts of the wicked Anra Mainyu, so that he stopped not the waters in their courses, nor the plants in their growths; straightway flowed forth the waters most mighty of the mighty creator, the majestic Ahura Mazda, and the plants grew.'

(Note the variant *avāiti*—present—K 37 for *avāitəm*.)

**Yt. 17. 55 (YAv. verse):**

*yat mām tura pazdayanta  
āsu-aspa naotarača  
āat azəm tanūm aguze  
ādairi pādəm gəus aršnō barəmāyaonahe  
āat mām fraguzayanta  
yōi apərənāyu tauruna  
yōi kainina anupaētu mašyānəm.*

'when the Turanians and swift-horsed Naotairyans chased me, then I hid my body beneath the foot of a laden(?) bull ; then there discovered me young boys and maidens unsullied by men.'

(Both here and in the similar passage Yt. 17. 56 K 12 has the present *pazdayanti* for *pazdayanta*. Similarly K 12, J 10 read the present *fraguzayanti* in § 55 for *fraguzayanta*, although they have the imperfect *fraguzayanta* in § 56.).

**Vd. 2. 3 (YAv. verse):**

*āat hē mraom zaraθuštra  
azəm yō ahurō mazdā.*

'then I, Ahura Mazda, O Zarathushtra, said to him.'

(The tradition renders *mraom* by *gūftam*.)

## II. Sentences containing the aorist only.

It is not altogether improbable that at an early time in the Indo-Iranian period the various formations of the aorist, such as

the root-aorist, the sibilant aorist, or the reduplicated aorist, expressed different shades of the force of the aoristic tense. However this may have been, it is clear that by the close of the Indo-Iranian period all formations of the aorist had the same signification, that of the simple statement that a certain action or event occurred in past time (Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 88; Vgl. Synt. ii, 230).

Ys. 28. 7:

a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

*dāidī ašā tām ašīm vanhēuš āyaptā manan̄hō*  
*dāidī tū ārmaitē vīštāspāi išom maibyāčā*  
*dāstū mazdā xšayāčā yā vō māθrā srəvīm ārādā.*

‘give, O Asha, that blessing, the boon of the Good Mind, grant thou, Ārmaiti, (our) desire to Vištāspa and to me; (and) thou, O Mazda, art to give what words I, your prophet, did hear.’

Ys. 29. 10 :

*yūzōm aēibyō ahurā aogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmčā*  
*avat̄ vohū manan̄hā yā hušəit̄s rāməmčā dāt̄*  
*az̄mčūt̄ ahyā mazdāθwām mēšhī paourvīm vaēdəm.*

‘do ye give them strength, O Lord, and the Kingdom through Righteousness, such through the Good Mind that he may give fair abodes and joy ; I in sooth, O Mazda, did think thee to be the first possessor of this.’

(The tradition renders *mēshī* by *mīnam, dhyāyāmi.*)

Ys. 30. 3 :

*aṭ tā mainyū pouruyē yā yēmā x<sup>o</sup>afənā asrvātəm*  
*manahičā vačahičā šyaoθanōi hī vahyō akəmčā*  
*āscā hudānhō orəš vīšyātā nōit̄ duždānhō.*

‘now the two first spirits, the twins, of their own accord did proclaim both in thought and in word and in deed, what is better and what is evil ; of them twain the benevolent did choose aright, but not so the malignant.’

(The tradition renders *asrvātəm* by *srūt̄, avocatām*, and *vīšyātā* by *barā vījīt̄, vibhaktavān.* The use of *vīšyātā* in Ys. 30. 6 is precisely similar, although Neryosengh renders it there by *vivijānti.*)

Ys. 31. 10 :

*aṭ hī ayā fravarətā vāstrīm alyāi fšuyantəm*  
*ahurəm ašavanəm vanhēuš fšənghīm manan̄hō*  
*nōit̄ mazdā avāstryō davəscinā humərətōiš baxstā*

'then of these two he did choose for her the thrifty husbandman as a righteous lord, a promoter of the Good Mind; never, O Mazda, did one not a husbandman, even a Davans, enjoy good report.'

(The tradition renders *fravarətā* by *fravāfiend* and *baxstā* by *zelkūnēt*, *pravarsati*.)

Ys. 32. 3 :

*at yūš daēvā vīspāñhō akāt manan̄hō stā čiθrəm  
yasčā vāš maš yazaitē drūjyāscā parimatōiščā  
šyaomam aipī daibitāna yāiš as rādūm būmyā haptaiθē.*

'now ye demons and whoso honoreth you greatly, to advance hereafter the deceits whereby ye did become notorious in the sevenfold earth, are all seed from the Evil Mind and the Druj and Pride.'

Ys. 33. 6 :

*yē zaotā ašā ərəzūš hvō manyōuš ā vahištāt̄ kayā.  
ahmāt̄ avā manan̄hā yā vərəzyeidyāi man tā vāstryā  
tā tōi izyāi ahurā mazdā darštiščā hēm-parštoisčā.*

'I as Zaotar, pure through Righteousness, desire from that Best Mind to further through that Mind what it did think to be relating to husbandry; for these two things of thine I long, O Ahura Madza, both to see thee and to question thee.'

Ys. 34. 10 :

*ahyā vanhēuš manan̄hō šyaοthanā v a o č a t̄ gərəbəm huxratuš  
spəntāmčā ārmaitīm dāmīm vīdvā hīθəm ašahyā.*

'the man of goodly wisdom did say to hold fast to the works of that Good Mind, knowing the creative Spenta Ārmaiti to be the abode of Righteousness.'

Ys. 35. 7 (GAv. prose) :

*ahurahyā zī aš vō mazdāt̄ yasnəmčā vahməmčā vahištəm aməh-  
maidī gəuščā vāstrəm.*

'verily worship and invocation of you, O Ahura Mazda, did we think to be the best thing and the pasture of the cow.'

(The tradition renders *aməhmaidī* by *mīnam*, *dhyāyāmi*.)

Ys. 37. 1 (GAv. prose) :

*iθā aš yazamaide ahurəm mazdəm yē gəmčā ašəmčā dāt̄  
apasčā dāt̄ urvarāsčā vanuhīš raočāsčā dāt̄ būmīmčā vīspāčā  
vohū.*

‘here now we worship Ahura Mazda, who did create both the Cow and Righteousness, who did create both the good waters and plants, who did create both the stars and the earth and all good things.’

(The tradition renders *dāt* by *yehabunt*, *dadāu*.)

Ys. 39. 4 (GAv. prose):

*yəθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mənghāčā vaočasčā dāsčā varəščā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā čišmahī aθā θwā āiš yazamaide.*

‘as thou indeed, O Ahura Mazda, didst both think and say and give and do what is good, so we give to thee, so we teach, so we worship thee thereby.’

(The tradition renders *mənghā* by *mīnišnō hōmanāi*, *manasi vartase*, and *vaočas* by *gōbišnō hōmanāi*, *vacasi vartase*.)

Ys. 43. 5:

*spəntəm až θwā mazdā mənghī ahurā  
hyat̄ θwā aṇhōuš zəθōi darəsəm paourvīm  
hyat̄ dā šyaoθanā mīzdaṿan yāčā uxdā  
akōm akāi vanəuhūm ašīm vanhaovē  
θwā hunarā dāmōiš urvaēsē apəmē.*

‘then did I think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when I did see thee the first one at the birth of the world, when thou didst establish deeds and words having their rewards, evil for the evil, but a good blessing for the good, by thy virtue at creation’s final change.’

(The tradition renders *mənghī* by *mīnīt hōmanīh*, *amāmstāh*, *darəsəm* by *xaditūnt*, *dadarça*, and *dā* by *yehabūnt*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 44. 7:

*taž θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā  
kō bərəxḍam tāšt xəaθrā mat̄ ārmaitīm  
kō uzəməm cōrət vyānayā puθrəm piθrē.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lórd: who did fashion the lovely Ārmaiti together with the Kingdom, who by his wisdom did make the son dear to his father?’

(The tradition renders *tāšt* by *tāšīt*, *aghātayat*, and *cōrət* by *kartō*, *akarot*.)

Ys. 45. 10:

*tēm nō yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayzō  
yō qnmənī mazdā srāvī ahurō*

*hyat hōi aśā vohučā čō išt manahā  
xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā  
ahmāi stōi dān təvišī utayūti.*

‘seeking to magnify with our hymns of Concord him who is called in immutability Mazda Ahura, since his Asha and Vohu Manah did promise that in his Kingdom should be Health and Immortality, in his mansion Strength and Eternity.’

(The tradition renders *čōišt* by *čāśitō, āsvādayati*.)

Ys. 46. 12 :

*hyat us aśā naptyaēśū nafsučā  
tūrahyā uzjōn fryānahyā aojyaēśū  
ārmatōiš gaēthā frādō ḡwaxšaṇhā  
at̄ iš vohū hēm aibī-mōist manahā  
aibīyō rafēdrāi mazdāt sastē ahurō.*

‘when Righteousness did come unto those that are to be called the children and grandchildren of the Turanian Fryāna who zealously furthereth the possessions of Ārmaiti, then the Good Mind did abide with them, (and) Ahura Mazda is announced to them for their comfort.’

(The tradition renders *aibī-mōist* by *ketründ, nivasanti*.)

Ys. 49. 5 :

*at̄ hvō mazdā ižāčā āzūtiščā  
yō daēṇam vohū sārštā manahā  
ārmatōiš kасčiť aśā huzōntuš  
tāiščā vīspāiš ḡwahmī xšaθrōi ahurā.*

‘now he, O Mazda, is both increase and prosperity whosoever did guard the Religion through the Good Mind, whoever hath saving knowledge of Ārmaiti through Righteousness, together with all those in thy Kingdom, Lord.’

(The tradition glosses *sārštā* by *zakī min dīnō pētāk pavan frārūnōih vādūnyēn*.)

Ys. 51. 11 :

*kē urvaθō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā  
kē vā aśā āfraštā kā spəntā ārmaitiš  
kē vā vanhēuš manahō ačistā magāi ərəšvō.*

‘what man, O Mazda, is a friend of Spitama Zarathushtra, or who did make questioning with Righteousness, with whom (did) Spenta Ārmaiti (make questioning), or what just man did make announcement to magnify the Good Mind?’

(The tradition renders *āfraštā* by *hampūrsītō*, *aprechhat*.)

Ys. 53. 3 :

*tēmčā tū pouručistā haēčat-aspānā  
spitāmī yezivī dugədrām zaraθuštrahē  
vanəhəwš paityāstōm manānō ašahyā mazdāsčā taibyō dāt sarem  
aθā hōm fərašvā ḥwā xraθwā spəništā ārmatōiš hudānvarəšvā.*

‘and him, thou Pourucista, Haēcataspian maiden, Spitamide, youthful daughter of Zarathushtra, he did give to thee as a husband, a friend of the Good Mind, Righteousness, and Mazda ; then make thou questioning with thy most holy wisdom in Ārmaiti’s knowledge-choosing matters.’

The following strophe seems to contain aorist injunctives rather than augmentless aorists.

Ys. 51. 15 :

*hyat mīždəm zaraθuštrō magavabyō čōišt parā  
garō dəmānē ahurō mazdā jaſat pouruyō  
tā vē vohū manānō ašāičā savāiš čivīši.*

‘this reward Zarathushtra did promise in the presence of the great ones : In the Abode of Song Ahura Mazda is to be the first to come ; these things have been taught you by the Good Mind and by the blessings of Righteousness.’

### b. Younger Avesta.

It has already been noted that the aorist occurs but rarely in the Younger Avesta. Its place has been usurped for the most part by the imperfect.

Ys. 19. 1-3 (YAv. prose) :

*čit avat vačō ās ahura mazda yač mē frāvaočō para asməm  
para īpəm para zəm ... āat mraoč ahurō mazdā bayā aēšā ās  
ahunahe vairyehē spitama zaraθuštra yač tē frāvaočəm.*

‘what was that word, O Ahura Mazda, which thou didst pronounce to me in the presence of the heaven, in the presence of the water, in the presence of the earth ? ... then said Ahura Mazda : It was this portion of the Ahuna Vairyā, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which I did pronounce unto thee.’

(The tradition renders *frāvaočō* by *yemālelūnēt*, *prāvocah*. The use of *frāvaočim* in Yt. 17. 22 is precisely similar.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that in Avestan as well as in Sanskrit the aorist stem *vaoč* *voc* has assumed the value of a secondary root.

**Yt. 3. 2 (YAv. prose) :**

*mrūdi bā vačō arš-vacō ahura mazda yaθa tē areshen yaž aša vahišta frādāhiš.*

‘speak words truly spoken, O Ahura Mazda, as they were for thee when thou didst create through Asha Vahishta.’

**Yt. 24. 20 (YAv. prose) :**

*imat̄ uxaθem vačō fravaočāt̄ yaθa yaž tē fravaočāma.*

‘this spoken word may he pronounce as we did pronounce it to thee.’

**Vd. 2. 31 (YAv. prose and verse) :**

*āat̄ māsta yimō kuθa tē*

*azəm varəm kərənəvāne*

*yā mē aoxta ahurō mazdā.*

‘then Yima did think: How shall I make thy enclosure as Ahura Mazda said unto me.’

(The tradition renders *māsta* by *mīnīt̄*.)

**Vd. 15. 13 (YAv. prose) :**

*puθrəm aēm narō varṣta.*

‘this man did beget the child.

(The tradition renders *varṣta* by *vardīt̄*.)

**Vd. 19. 14–15 (YAv. prose) :**

*x"atō nizbayanuha zaraθuštra imat̄ dāma yaž ahurahe mazdā.*

*vaxšəm mē asaṣaṭ̄ zaraθuštrō.*

‘do thou thyself, Zarathushtra, invoke this creation of Ahura Mazda. In my word Zarathushtra did delight.’

(The tradition renders *asaṣaṭ̄* by *madammūništ̄*.)

### *Medio-Passive Aorist 3. Sing. in -i.*

The medio-passive aorist third singular in *-i* lost its original aoristic force in Avestan in my judgment. According to Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 51–61; Altind. Verb. 182; Altind. Synt. 265–267; Vgl. Synt. ii, 436–437, the Vedic medio-passive aorist in *-i* retains its aoristic value unchanged. A similar claim has been made for Avestan and Old Persian by Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227–228, 230, 233 and by Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 493–494. Whatever may be true of the Vedic Sanskrit, it seems to me that the Iranian medio-passive in *-i* lost its aoristic force at a very early period and became a mere preterite tense.

The medio-passive in *-i* is not frequent in Avestan. A few examples may, however, be cited.

*a. Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 32. 8 :

*aēšqam aēnamhām vīvanhušō srāvī yimasčit  
yē mašyōng cīxnušō ahmākēng gāuš bagā x̄ārəmnō  
aēšqamčit ā ahmī ḥwahmī mazdā vīčiθōi aipī.*

'of these sinners even Yima, the son of Vīvanhush, hath been accounted one, who (although) seeking to please our men, ate portions of the Cow ; apart from these men am I in thy judgment hereafter, O Mazda.'

(The tradition renders *srāvī* by *srūt*, *proktavān*. Cf. also Ys. 45. 10 ; 53. 1.)

Ys. 36. 6 (GAv. prose) :

*sraēštam at tōi kēhrpēm kēhrpām āvaēdayamahī mazdā ahurā  
imā raočā barezištēm barəzimanām avaṭ yāṭ hvarē av āčī.*

'the most beautiful body of bodies we acknowledge to be thine, O Mazda Ahura, this light, the highest of the high, that which is called the sun.'

Ys. 44. 18:

*taṭ ḥwā pērəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā  
kaθā ašā taṭ mīzdm̄ hanānī  
dasā aspā aršnavaitīš uštrəmčā  
hyāṭ mōi mazdā apivaitī haurvātā  
amərətātā yaθā hī taēibyo dānħā.*

'This I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord : How through Righteousness shall I merit that reward, ten mares with foal and a camel, since, O Mazda, there hath become known to me Health and Immortality, that thou shalt give these twain of thine.'

(The tradition renders *apivaitī* by *xavitūnam, vedmi.*)

*b. Younger Avesta.*

Yt. 8. 48 (YAv. prose) :

*yim vīspāiš paitišmarənte yāiš spəntahe mainyōuš dāmān  
adairi-zəmāišča upairi-zəmāišča yāča upāpa yāča upasma yāča  
fraptərəjān yāča ravasčarān yāča upairi tā akarana anayra  
ašaonō stiš āiði.*

'upon whom all the creatures of the Holy Spirit think, both those below the earth and above the earth, below the waters and in the earth, winged and far-ranging, and all that which beyond these boundless and eternal things is called the world of the righteous.'

Yt. 19. 92-93 (YAv. verse):

*yim vārəθraynəm*  
*yim barat̄ taxmōθraētaonō*  
*yat̄ ažiš dahākō ja in i*  
*yim barat̄ fraṇrāse tūrō*  
*yat̄ drvā zainigāuš ja in i*  
*yim barat̄ kava haosrava*  
*yat̄ tūrō ja in i fraṇrāse.*

'that Victory which the sturdy Thraētaona bore when Azhi Dahāka was slain, which the Turanian Franrase bore when the wicked Zainigāush was slain, which King Haosravah bore when the Turanian Franrase was slain.'<sup>1</sup>

### III. Sentences containing the perfect only.

The perfect seems to retain its original force unchanged in Avestan. It expresses the present result of a past action or event. No assistance in determining the value of the perfect tense is given by the traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit. The meagre verb-system of the Pahlavī precludes an accurate translation of the Indo-Iranian perfect, and the Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> The Old Persian has two examples of the medio-passive in *-i*, *aθahy* and *adāri*, *adār(i)y*. Both these words seem to be used with the force of the imperfect, the tense with which they are significantly coordinated in the inscriptions. NRa 20-22: *tyašām hačāma aθa h[y ava a]kunava dātam tya manā a[ita] adāri*, 'what was said unto them by me, that they did; this my law was maintained' (cf. also Bh. i, 20, 23-24); Bh. ii, 89-90: *utāšaiy [čax]šma avājam duvarayā maiy basta adāriy haruvašim kāra ava[na]*, 'and I put out his eye; he was kept bound at my door; all the people saw him' (cf. Bh. ii, 74-76); Bh. i, 25-26: *auramazdāmaiy upastām abara yātā ima xšaθam [ad]āry*, 'Auramazda brought me help until this kingdom was held.' This coordination of the medio-passive aorist in *-i* with the imperfect in Old Persian is the more striking in view of the careful distinction observed by this dialect between the aorist and the imperfect in all other instances (see Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 222, 224-226; Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 498).

version is based upon the Pahlavī, reproducing, in the case of the perfect tense at least, the inaccuracy of the Middle Persian translation.

a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 13. 4 (GAv. prose):

*iθā mainyū mananāitē iθā vaočātarē iθā vāvərəzā-tarē.*

‘thus the two spirits have thought, thus they have spoken, thus they have done.’

(The tradition renders *mamanāitē* by *mīnam*, *manye*; *vaočātarē* by *yemālelūnam*, *samuccarāmi*; *vāvərəzātarē* by *varzam*, *samācarāmi*.)

Ys. 28. 9:

*anāiš vā nōit ahurā mazdā ašəmčā yānāiš zaranaēmā manasčā hyaṭ vahištēm yōi vō yōiθəmā dasəmē stūtum yūzōm zəvīstyānōhō išō xšaθrəmčā savaṇhām.*

‘by these boons may we not anger thee, O Ahura Mazda and Righteousness and the Good Mind, we who have been zealous in the giving of praises; ye are friendly and the Kingdom of wish and of blessings’ (i. e. the blessed, wished-for Kingdom).

Ys. 29. 4:

*mazdāt sax'ārē maiρištō yā zī vāvərəzōi pairi-čiθit daevāiščā mašyāiščā yāčā varəšaitē aipī-čiθit hvō vičirō ahurō aθā nō aŋhat yabā hvō vasat.*

‘Mazda of words is most mindful which have been done aforetime both by demons and men and which will be done hereafter; he is the deciding lord, so be it unto us as he is to wish.’

(The tradition renders *vāvərəzōi* by *varzit*, *ācāritāni*.)

Ys. 32. 15:

*anāiš ā vī-nōnāsā yā karapōtāsčā kəvītāsčā avāiš aibī yōng daintē nōit ūyātōuš xšayamnōng vasō tōi ābyā bairyāntē vanhōuš ā dəmānē mananōhō.*

‘In accordance with those doctrines, there hath perished both the Karapship and the Kaviship; in accordance with these (doctrines, however) they whom (the wicked) make not masters of (their own) life at will shall be borne by the two [Haurvatāt and Ameretāt] to the home of the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *vī-nōnāsā* by *barā aūbīnō yehevūnd*.)

Ys. 33. 10:

*vīspā stōi hujūtayō yā zī ā n̄ harō yāsčā həntī  
yāsčā mazdā bavaintī ḥwahmī hīš zaoše ābaxsōhvā  
vohū uxšyā mananāhā xšaθrā ašāčā uštā tanūm.*

'all blessings of life in the world which have been and which are and which are to be, distribute these, O Mazda, in thy love, increase our body in health through the Good Mind, the Kingdom, and Righteousness.'

(The tradition renders *ān̄hare*, *həntī*, and *bavaintī* by *būt hōmand*, *sambhūtāh santi*; *am hōmand*, *santi*; and *am yehevūnd* [*min kevan frāz*], *bhavisyanti* respectively.)

Ys. 34. 5:

*kaž vē xšaθrəm kā ištīš šyaoθanāi mazdā yaθā vā hahmī  
ašā vohū mananāhā ḥrāyōidgāi drīgūm yūsmākəm  
parō vāt vīspāiš parō vaoxəmā daēvāiščā xrafstrāiš mašyāiščā.*

'what is your Kingdom, what your power to do, O Mazda, as I implore, to protect your poor through Righteousness and the Good Mind? we have exalted you in the presence of demons, brutes, and men.'

(The tradition renders *parō vaoxəmā* by *pēš gūft hōmanēt*, *prāk uktāh sīha*.)

Ys. 39. 2 (GAv. prose):

*ašāunām āat̄ urunō yazamaidē kudō-zātanāmēit̄ narāmčā nāiri-nāmčā yaēšām vahēhīš daēnā vanaintī vā vēngħən vā vaonarō vā.*

'and we worship the souls of the righteous whosoever born, both men and women, whose good religions are either conquering, or are to conquer, or have conquered.'

Ys. 44. 13:

*taž ḥwā pərəsā erəš mōi vaočā ahurā  
kaθā družm nīš ahmaž ā nīš nāšāmā  
tēng ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənānħō  
nōit̄ ašahyā ādīvyeintī hačōmnā  
nōit̄ frasayā vanħəuš ēāxnarō mananħō.*

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord : How shall we drive the Druj from us down upon those who, full of unbelief, care not for Righteousness following it, nor have they taken delight in the questioning of the Good Mind.'

Ys. 49. 1:

*at̄ mā yavā bōndvō pafre mazištō  
yē dušerəθriš cīxšnušā ašā mazdā  
vanuhī ādā gaidī mōi ā mōi arapā  
ahyā vohū aošō vīdā manāshā.*

‘how long now hath the mightiest Bendva held me in combat, me who am desirous, O Mazda, to please the evil hosts through Righteousness ! Come to me with a good gift, give me joy, compass his death through the Good Mind.’

Ys. 50. 1:

*kat̄ mōi urvā īsē čahyā avanšhō  
kē mōi pasəus̄ kē mē nā θrātā vistō  
anyō ašāt̄ ḡwāt̄čā mazdā ahurā  
azdā zūtā vahištāat̄čā manāshō.*

‘verily my prayer is (lit.: in my prayer): What power hath my soul had over any help, what man hath been found as protector for my herd, what one for me other than Righteousness and thee, O Mazda Ahura, and the Best Mind ?’

(The tradition renders *īsē* by *xvāstār hōmanam, abhilāṣayāmi*.)

Ys. 51. 8 :

*at̄ zī tōi vaxšyā mazdā vīduše zī nā mruyāt̄  
hyat̄ akōyā drəgvātē uštā yē ašem dādrē  
hvō zī māθrā šyātō yē vīduše mravaiti.*

‘then verily shall I say unto thee, O Mazda, for a man should speak unto the wise, what is woe to the wicked is weal to him who hath upheld Righteousness, for he hath peace through the Word who speaketh unto the wise.’

(The tradition renders *dādrē* by *dhārayet*.)

### *b. Younger Avesta.*

The original force of the perfect is retained in general unchanged in the Younger Avesta as well as in the Gāθās. In the latest portions of the Younger Avestan texts, however, the peculiar force of the perfect is in great part lost, for the perfect, like the aorist, becomes at times almost equivalent with the imperfect. The perfect occurs quite frequently in the Younger Avesta.

Ys. I. 1 (YAv. prose and verse) :

*nivaēdayemi hankārayemi daθusō ahurahe mazdā...  
yō no daða yō tataša  
yō tuθruyē yō mainyuš spəntōtəmō.*

‘I announce, I offer unto the creator Ahura Mazda,... who hath created us, who hath fashioned us, who hath nurtured us, the Spirit most holy.’

(The tradition renders *daða* by *dātō hōmanam*, *dadāu*; *tataša* by *tāšet hōmanam*, *ghaṭayāmāsa*, and *tuθruyē* by *parvar̄t hōmanam*, *pratyapālayat*.)

Ys. 8. 2 (YAv. prose) :

*xarata narō aētəm myazdəm yōi dim hanhāna ašāča frərətiča.*

‘eat, O men, this oblation, ye who have merited it both through righteousness and through piety.’

Ys. 9. 1 (YAv. verse) :

*kō narə ahī  
yim azəm vīspahe aňhōuš  
astvatō sraēstəm dādaresa  
x̄ahe gayehe x̄anvatō aməšahe.*

‘who art thou, O man, the most beautiful of all the material world that I have seen with thy glorious, immortal life?’

(The tradition renders *dādarəsa* by *xazitunēt*, *dadarça*.)

Ys. 10. 12 (YAv. verse) :

*ā tē baěšaza irīraθarə  
vanhēuš mananhō mayābyō.*

‘for thee through the arts of the Good Mind remedies have mingled.’

(The tradition renders *irīraθarə* by *gūmāi*, *arogyayukto ‘si.*)

Ys. 62. 7-8 (YAv. verse) :

*vīspaēibyō sastīm baraiti  
ātarš mazdā ahurahe  
yaēibyō aēm hām-pačāite  
xšāfnīmča sūirīmča ...  
vīspanām para-čarəntām  
ātarš zusta ādiðaya.*

'unto all the Fire of Mazda Ahura beareth proclamation for whom he is wont to cook [iterative subjunctive] the evening and the morning meal,... the Fire hath looked upon the hands of all that pass by.'

(The coordination of the present and perfect in this passage is noteworthy. The tradition renders *ādiḍaya* by *nikirīt*.)

**Ys. 65. 9 (YAv. verse) :**

*kubra vāčō aoi-būta  
yā hē čaxse aēθra-paitiš.*

'what becomes of the words which the teacher hath taught him?'

(The tradition renders *čaxse* by *čāšet*.)

**Ys. 71. 10 (YAv. prose) :**

*vīspe tē ahurō mazdāt hvapō vanuhīš dāmān ašaonīš yazama-ide yāiš dadāθa pouruča vohuča.*

'all thy good, righteous creations we worship, O beneficent Ahura Mazda, which thou hast created both many and good.'

(The tradition renders *dadāθa* by *yehabūnt*.)

**Yt. 10. 79=81 (YAv. verse) :**

*yō rašnuš daiðe maēθanəm  
yahmāi rašnuš darəyāi haxədrāi  
frabavara manavaintim.*

'who hath given Rashnu (sic !), an abode to whom Rashnu hath conveyed a home for long companionship.'

**Yt. 17. 17 (YAv. verse) :**

*kō ahi yō mām zbayehi  
yeñhe azəm frāyō zbayentam  
sraēstəm susruye vāčim.*

'who art thou that invokest me, whose voice I have heard as the most beautiful of those that invoke me often.'

**Yt. 19. 8 (YAv. prose) :**

*yavat̄ anu aipi āite garayō višastarə vīspəm avat̄ aipi draonō bažat̄ abaurunaēča raθaēštāiča vāstryāiča fšuyente.*

'as far as those mountains have extended, all that distance one is to present a cake both to the fire-priest and to the warrior and to the thrifty husbandman.'

**Yt. 22. 8 (YAv. prose) :**

*kudadaēm vātō vāiti yim yava vātəm nānħābya hubaoiði-təməm jiγaurva.*

‘whence bloweth the wind, which is the sweetest wind I have ever breathed with my nostrils?’

(The tradition renders *jiγaurva* by *vaxdūnē*. See also Yt. 22. 26.)

**Vd. 4. 46 (YAv. prose) :**

*hām-taptibyō aiwyō cāxarare nərəbyō zaraθuštra mā gōuš mā vastrahe hatō adāitim vaočōit.*

‘before the heated waters (which) they have made for men, O Zarathushtra, one should not say aught unlawful of that which is kine or clothing.’

(The tradition renders *cāxarare* by *kartar-aš*.)

**Vd. 5. 4 (YAv. prose) :**

*yeziča aēte našāvō ... narəm āstryeintūm ānħāt išarə-štāitya mē vīspō aňhuš astvāt išasəm jīt-ašəm xraodať-urvō pəšō-tanuš frēna ānħām našunām yāt paiti āya zəmā irīriθarə.*

‘if these corpses shall defile man, ... straightway (will or would be) all my material world desiring the destruction of righteousness, with hardened soul and damned, through the multitude of those corpses which have perished on this earth.’

(The tradition renders *irīriθarə* by *vatīrēnt̄*.)

**Vd. 6. 32 (YAv. prose) :**

*aiňħāt āpō para-hinčayən yať vā naěməm yať vā Өrišum yať vā čaθrušum yať vā pañtaňhum yezi tūtava navāt tūtava.*

‘of that water should they sprinkle either a half, or a third, or a quarter, or a fifth, according as he hath been able or hath not been able.’

(The tradition renders *tūtava* by *tūbānīk*.)

**Vd. 8. 97 (YAv. prose and verse) :**

*kať tā nara yaoždayən aňħən ašāum ahura mazda yā našāum ava-hišta.*

*dūire asahi razanħām.*

‘can those men be purified, O righteous Ahura Mazda, who have touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness?’

(The tradition renders *ava-hišta* by *barā yekavīmūnēt*. The parallel passage Vd. 8. 33 has the imperfect *ava-hištāt*, although here also L 2, Br. 1, K 10 have the perfect *hišta*.)

Vd. 14. 4 (YAv. prose) :

*ham-irista aētayā urvarayā yā vaoče hadānaēpāta.*

‘mingled with that plant which is called Hadhānaēpāta.’

(Note the variant reading *vāči* K 1 for *vaoče*. The tradition renders *vaoče* by *gūft*. The same use of the perfect *vaoče* is found in Yt. 10. 88; 13. 152; 14. 55.)

Vd. 21. 2 (YAv. prose) :

*yayata dunma yayata frā-āpəm nyāpəm upa-āpəm haz-aṣrō-vārayō baēvarə-vārayasčit.*

‘the cloud hath come, hath come, to the water above, the water below, the water beneath, with a thousand drops, with ten thousand drops.’

(The tradition renders *yayata* by *rapat*, but by *sātānēt* ZPGl. 16. 9.)

Frag. Tah. 24–26 (YAv. prose) :

*tanu-mazō ašayāiti yō tanu-mazō bīraošat* (read *draošat*) *tanu-mazō zī aētyāmīčit ašayām pfrē yā nōit yava miθō mamne nōit miθō vavača nōit vavarəza.*

‘he merits a tanu-mazah who deceives (to the amount of) a tanu-mazah, for he who hath never thought deceit, nor spoken deceit, nor done deceit, hath gained as much merit as a tanu-mazah.’

The tradition renders *pfrē* by *ambārēt*, *mamne* by *mīnīt*, *vavača* by *gūft*, and *vavarəza* by *kart*.)

Frag. Tah. 105–106 (YAv. prose) :

*nōit hāu ās vaoze zaraθuštra nōit ahmāt vašata yō noiš ašahe vahištahe bərəjī framārətāhe mayā vaoze.*

‘neither hath this body advanced, O Zarathushtra, nor is he ever to advance, who hath not advanced the arts of Asha Vahishta lovingly studied.’

(The tradition renders *vaoze* by *vāzīnūšār*.)

Nir. 19 (YAv. prose) :

*dahmō dahmāi aoxte frā mā nərə gārāyōiš yaž ratuš fritōiš āsāt visaiti dəm frāyārāyō nōit frāyārāyeiti aēšō ratufriš yō jāγāra.*

‘the pious saith to the pious : Awake me, O man, that the master of satisfaction may come. (If) the awakening cometh to the

one, (but the other) awakeneth not, he satisfyeth his master who hath awakened.' (See Bartholomae, IF. v. 471-372.)

The perfect is used very rarely with injunctive force in the Younger Avesta.

*Yt. 13. 150 (YAv. prose) :*

*paoiryān tkaēšā yazamaide nmānanāmčā vīṣāmčā zantunāmčā dahiyanāmčā yōi ḏāsharə ... yōi bābvarə ... yōi henti.*

'the first faithful we worship who have been both in the houses and in the villages and in the tribes and in the countries, ... who are to be (?), ... who are.'

#### IV. Sentences containing the Pluperfect only.

The pluperfect is extremely rare in Avestan (Jackson Av. Gramm. § 602, Bartholomae Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 89, 198). Its occurrence in Avestan is scarcely frequent enough to enable us to determine whether it still retained what would seem to have been its original value, the expression of the result in past time of a prior action or event, or whether, like the Sanskrit pluperfect (see above p. 113-114) it simply denoted preterite time.

##### a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

*Ys. 32. 6 :*

*pourū-aēnāt̄ ēnāxstā yāiš srāvahyeit̄ yezī tāiš aθā  
hātā-marānē ahurā vahistā vōistā manāshā  
θwahmī vō mazdā xšabroī ašāičā sēnghō vīdām.*

'the sinful man had perished through the very things by which he will be heard of, if so be ; through the Best Mind thou knowest, O Lord remembering what things soever are, I am to act in thy Kingdom as your preacher, O Mazda and Asha.'

(The tradition renders *ēnāxstā* by *ākāñkṣate*. The verse is obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

*Ys. 51. 12 :*

*nōiṭ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpyō kēvīnō pērētō zēmō  
zaraθuštrēm spitāmēm hyaṭ ahmī urūraost ašto  
hyaṭ hōi īm ērātasčā aodērēščā zōišenū vāzā.*

'nor did the heretic vaēpya delight him, Zarathushtra Spitāma, in the depth of winter, since he had prevented him from being with him when there came upon him the fierceness and strength of the cold.'

(Read *zimō* for *zəmō* with Pt 4, J 3, 6, Jm 1, P 6, Ml 1, and the tradition.)

*b. Younger Avesta.*

Yt. 19. 68-69 (YAv. verse) :

*hačaiti dim aspahe aojō ...  
aθra pašcaēta va ozi rəm  
baodəntō šudəm taršnəmča  
baodəntō aotəm urvāxərəmča.*

'the strength of a horse attendeth him, ... thereafter had come those knowing hunger and thirst, those knowing cold and heat.'

**V. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Aorist.**

Thus far we have considered passages which contain only a single one of the preterite tenses, but the distinctions already set forth with regard to the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect become still more clear when different past tenses stand side by side in the same sentence. The presence of the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side in the same Gāθic strophe is not to be regarded, in my judgment, as a sign of syntactic decay. In the Younger Avesta, on the other hand, the various preterite tenses may be coordinated, as a natural result of the gradual loss of perception of the original difference between the past tenses of the indicative.

*a. Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 29. 9 :

*atjā gōuš urvā raostā yē anaēšəm xšqnmənē rādəm  
vāčəm nərəš asūrahya yēm ā vasəmī išā xšaθrim  
kadā yavā hvō aŋhat̄ yē hōi dadač zastavat̄ avō.*

'and then the Soul of the Kine wailed : I who did gain for my wretched self the impotent voice of a cowardly man, when I long for one sovereign according to his will ; when shall he be who is to give me mighty help ?'

(The tradition renders *raostā* by *garzit̄ō*, *krandati*.)

Ys. 31. 7.

*yastā mantā pouruyō raočēbiš rōiθwen x̄āθrā  
hvō xraθwā dāmiš ašəm yā dār ayač vahištəm manō  
tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō yē ā nūrəmčī ahurā hāmō.*

'who first did think to fill these glorious spaces with light, he through his wisdom is the creator of Righteousness, whereby

he sustained the Best Mind ; through this spirit thou increasedst, O Mazda Ahura, who art the same even until now.'

(The tradition renders *dārayat* by *yaxšenūnētō*, *dadāu*, and *uxšyō* by *vaxšīnēt*, *vikāçayat*.)

**Ys. 32. 2 :**

*aēibyō mazdā ahurō sārəmnō vohū manāshā  
xšaθrāt̄ hačā paitī-mrao t̄ ašā huš-haxā x̄ənvātā  
spəntām və ārmaitīm vanuhīm varəmaidī hā nə ašhat.*

'to them Mazda Ahura, being lord with the Good Mind, replied from the Kingdom with the goodly fellowship of glorious Righteousness: We did choose for you (ethical dative) the good Spenta Ārmaiti, may she be ours !'

(The tradition renders *paitī-mrao t̄* by *gūft*, *abravīt* and *varəmaidī* by *dōšēm*, *mitrayāmi*.)

**Ys. 34. 13 :**

*tōm advānəm ahurā yōm mōi mrao š vanhōuš manāshō  
daēnā saošyantām yā hū-karštā ašāčt̄ urvāxšat̄  
hyat̄ cīv ištā hudābyō mīždəm mazdā yehyā tū daθrəm.*

'that way of which thou, Lord, speakest to me as being that of the Good Mind, that of the religion of the Soshyants, whereby deeds well-done in accordance with Righteousness are to grow, since one did teach to the benevolent the reward of which thou, Mazda, art the deposit.'

(The tradition renders *mrao š* by *yemalelūnāi*, and *cīvištā* by *čāšūtō*, *āsvādayah*.)

**Ys. 43. 11 :**

*spəntəm aṭ̄ θwā mazdā mēnghī ahurā  
hyat̄ mā vohū pairī-ja sat̄ manāshā  
hyat̄ xšmā uxđāiš dīdaišhē paourvīm  
sādrā mōi səs mašyaēšū zarazdāitiš  
taṭ̄ vərəzyeidyāi hyat̄ mōi mraotā vuhištəm.*

'then I did think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when the Good Mind came unto me, when first I learned through your words—Hard, did he announce unto me, is holding fast the faith among men—to do that which ye said unto me is the best thing.'

(The tradition renders *mēnghī* by *mīnūt̄ homanīh*, *amāmsthāh*; *pairī-ja sat̄* by *barā matō*, *samāgacchat*; *dīdaišhē* by *nikēzitō*; *səs* and *mraotā* by *gūft*, *avocat*.)

Ys. 46. 7 :

*kēm nā mazdā mavaite pāyūm da dāt  
hyat mā drəgvā dīdarəšatā aēnañhē  
anyōm ḥwahmāt̄ āθrasčā mananhasčā  
yayā šyaoθanāiš ašom ḥra oštā ahurā  
tām mōi dāstvām daēnayāi frāvaočā.*

‘when the wicked sought to hold me to sin, whom appointed man as a protector of one like me, other than thy Fire and Mind, through whose deeds Righteousness did prosper, O Lord? Pronounce to me that wise knowledge of the Religion.’

(Note the variant *dīdarštā* F 2, H 1 for *dīdarəšatā*. The tradition renders *dadāt* by *yehabūnt̄*, *duttāh*; *dīdarəšatā* by *dadhāti*, and *ḥraoštā* by *fravarēm*, *pālayāmi*.)

Ys. 47. 3 :

*ahyā manyōuč tvōm ahī tā spentō  
yē ahmāi gām rānyō-skərətūm hōm-ta šat̄  
at̄ hōi vāstrāi rāmā-dā ārmaitūm  
hyat hōm vohū mazdā hēm-fraštā mananħā.*

‘of that spirit thou art the holy one hereby, who pleasure-bestowing fashioned for us the joy-giving Cow, and Ārmaiti for her pasture, when it [the Spirit] did hold questioning, O Mazda, with the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *hōm-tašat̄* by *hamtāšit̄*, *samāṣrjat*, and *hēm-fraštā* by *saṁglistāh*.)

Ys. 49. 4 :

*yōi duš-xraθwā aēšəməm varədən rāməmčā  
x'āiš hizubiš fšuyasū afšuyantō  
yaēšqm nōit̄ hvarštāiš vq̄s dužvarštā  
tōi daēvāng dān yā drəgvatō daēnā.*

‘those who augmented wrath and violence through their folly, with their own tongues, being thrifless among the thrifty, whose evil deeds did have no pleasure because of good deeds, they (are) in the house of the demons(?) through the religion of the wicked.’

(The tradition renders *varədən* by *vārīt̄ yekavīmūnēt̄*, *varəsantaḥ santi*, and *vq̄s* by *vāñcitāh*. The last two lines are obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

*b. Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 13 (YAv. verse) :

*hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāv i  
tač ahmāi jasat̄ āyaptəm  
yač hē tūm us-zayaňha  
tūm ərəzvō zaraθuštra.*

'this blessing did one find for him, this boon came to him  
that thou wert born unto him, thou, the just Zarathushtra.'

(The tradition renders *ərənāvi* by *kartō*, *cakre*; *jasat̄* by *mat̄*,  
*samprāpa*, and *us-zayaňha* by *zerxūnt̄ hōmanāī*, *uccāirjātah*.)

Vsp. 12. 4 (YAv. prose) :

*humaya mainyāmaide ya daθat̄ ahurō mazdā ašava  
θraoštā vohu manahā vaxšt aša.*

'we meditate upon the good kinds of knowledge which the  
righteous Ahura Mazda created, and the Good Mind did  
nurture, and Righteousness did increase.'

(The tradition renders *daθat̄* by *yehabūnt̄*; *θraoštā* by *parvart̄*,  
and *vaxšt* by *vaxšīnūz̄*.)

Yt. 4. 1 (YAv. prose) :

*azəm daðəm haurvatātō narəm ašaonəm avāscā rafnāscā  
baosnāscā x̄itāscā avōi frača ya oxmaide.*

'I created for righteous men both the helps and the pleasures  
and the enjoyments and the peculiar blessings of Haurvatāt, and  
we did confer (them) upon him.'

Vd. 2. 11 (YAv. prose and verse) :

*āat̄ yimō imām zām višāvayat̄ aēva ḥrišva ahmat̄ masye-  
hīm yaθa para ahmāt̄ as : tem iθra fračarenta pasvascā  
staorācā mašyācā*

*hvām anu uštīm zaošemcā  
yaθa kaθača hē zaošō.*

'then Yima extended this earth a third larger than it was  
before; there over it did go forth both cattle and small  
beasts and men according to each one's will and pleasure, even  
as one's pleasure was.'

(The tradition renders *višāvayat̄* by *sātūnūnūz̄* and *fračarenta*  
by *sātūnt̄*)

**VI. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Perfect.**

Sentences which contain both the imperfect and the perfect are by no means common in the Avesta. In the few passages of this category which do occur the original distinction between the two tenses seems to be observed.

*a. Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 30. 4 :

*at̄cā hyaṭ tā hōm mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē  
gaēmčā aŷāitīmčā yaθācā aŋhaṭ apēməm aŋhuš  
acištō dr̄gvatām at̄ ašānē vahištəm manō.*

‘and then when the two spirits first came together, they have created both life and death and how the world shall be at the last, most evil for the wicked, but the Best Mind for the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *hōm jasaētəm* by *ham mat̄ō hōmand, ājagmaṣuḥ*.)

Ys. 32. 11 :

*taēcīt mā mōrəndən jyōtūm yōi dr̄gvatō mazibīš čikōitərəš  
aŋuhīščā aŋhvasčā apayetiī raēxənənəhō vaēdəm  
yōi vahištāt̄ ašānō mazdā rārašyān manənəhō.*

‘these destroyed my life who have taught the wicked especially to rob house-holders, both women and men, of the attainment of their inheritance, that they may make the righteous apostate from the Best Mind.’

(The tradition renders *mōrəndən* by *marenčinišnō yehabünd, vināčam dadate*, and *čikōitərəš* by *kāśinēnd, ācāranti*.)

*b. Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 5 (YAv. verse) :

*yimāhe xšaθre aurvahē  
nōiṭ aotəm ḏn̄ha nōiṭ gurəməm  
nōiṭ zaurva ḏn̄ha nōiṭ mərəθyuš  
nōiṭ araskō daēvō-dātō  
panča-dasa fračarōiθe  
pita puθrasča raodaēšva katarasčit.*

‘in the reign of princely Yima there hath been neither cold nor heat, there hath been neither age nor death, nor disease created by the demons; father and son went forth fifteen years old each in figure.’

(The tradition renders *ānha* by *yehavūnt*, *āsīt*, and *fračarōiθē* by *frāz sātūnīt hōmand*, *pracaraiaḥ*. See also the parallel passage Yt. 15. 16.)

Yt. 13. 90 (YAv. prose):

*yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vāčim aoxta vīdōyum ahurō-  
tkaēšem yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vāčim framraoṭ vīdōyum  
ahurō-tkaēšem yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vīspām daēvō-dātem  
vavača ayesnyam avahmyam.*

'who first of the material world spake the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world proclaimed the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world hath declared all (the world) created by the demons to be unworthy of worship or of prayer.'

(The perfect *vavača* is coordinated in this late passage to the imperfects *aoxta* and *framraoṭ*.)

#### VII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the perfect are extremely rare. A few examples, however, may be cited.

##### a. Gāθā-Avesta.

Ys. 34. 3 :

*at tōi myazdēm ahurā nəmanhā ašāičā dāmā  
gaēθāt vīspāt ā xšaθrōi yāt vohū ḥraoštā mananhā  
ārōi zī hudānō vīspāiš mazdā xšmāvasū savō.*

'now unto thee, O Ahura and Asha, we are to offer with homage the oblation, (namely) all beings in the Kingdom which ye did nurture through the Good Mind, for the weal of the beneficent hath been fitting in all respects for those like unto thee, O Mazda.'

Ys. 44. 20 :

*čiθənā mazdā hušaθrā daēvā ānharā  
at it pərəsā yōi pišyeintī aēibyō kām  
yāiš gām karapā usixščā aēšəmāi dātā  
yāčā kavā qnmēnē urūdōyatā  
nōiṭ hīm mīzān ašā vāstrəm frādaišhē.*

'have the demons been good rulers, O Mazda? Now this I ask: What (vengeance shall be) to those who oppress, through whom the Karap and the Usij did give the Cow unto Wrath,

and through whom the Kavi is a sinner forever, and not a man to prosper the pasture through Righteousness in watering it.'

(The strophe is obscure and the translation doubtful. The tradition renders *ānsharē* by *yehevūnt hōmand*, *abhavan* and *dātā* by *yehabūnt*.)

### VIII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Pluperfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the pluperfect are excessively rare. A single example, which is not free from ambiguity, may be quoted.

#### a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 53. 1 :

*vahištā ištiš srāvī zaraθuštrahē  
spitāmāhyā yezī hōi dāt āyaptā  
ašāt hačā ahurō mazdāt yavōi vīspāi ā hvānħāvīm  
yāečā hōi dabən sašənčā daēnayā vanħuyā uxðā syaoθanāčā.*

'the best wish is to be called Zarathushtra Spitāma's if Ahura Mazda in accordance with Righteousness is to give the boons, even a happy life for all eternity, to him and to those who did desire (?) and had become learned in the words and deeds of the good religion.'

### IX. Sentences containing the Imperfect, the Aorist, and the Perfect.

The Gāθās furnish one example of an Avestan passage which contains the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side.

#### a. *Gāθā-Avesta.*

Ys. 29. 1 :

*xšmaibyā gēuš urvā gərəždā kahmāi mā θwarōždūm kō  
mā tašat̄  
ā mā aēšəmō harasčā rəmōd ā hišāyā dəreščā teriščā  
nōit̄ mōi vāstā xšmat̄ anyō aθā mōi sqstā vohū vāstryā.*

'to you the Soul of the Kine did wail: For whom did ye create me, who shaped me? Wrath and Violence, Mutilation, and Outrage, and Power have bound me; no husbandman is there for me but you; so announce to me good pasture.'

(The tradition renders *garəždā* by *garzit̄*, *krandati*; *θwarōždūm* by *barehīn̄t̄ hōmanam*, *avinirmito* 'smi, and *tašat̄* by *tāšit̄ hōmanam*, *ghaṭit̄o* 'smi.)

The conclusion which I draw from the study of the syntax of the preterite tenses of the Avesta has already been shadowed forth. In the Gāθās the tenses retain their original significations unchanged, while the Younger Avesta shows a steady degeneration of feeling for the primary distinctions between the preterite tenses. The imperfect in the Gāθās is the tense of narration, as it is in the Younger Avesta. The aorist is not uncommon in the Gāθās, where it denotes an action or event occurring at some undetermined past time. It is found very seldom in the Younger Avesta, where it has become to all intents equivalent to the imperfect. The perfect in the Gāθās expresses the present result of a past action or event. It still retains this force in general in the Younger Avesta, although cases are not lacking, especially in late portions of the text, where the perfect, like the aorist, has degenerated into a mere narrative tense. The two points in which I differ most from results hitherto obtained are in regard to the pluperfect and to the medio-passive *in-i*. In my opinion the pluperfect expresses the result in the past of an action or event whose time was still more remote. In other words the pluperfect is a true preterite perfect, not a preterite present. I have suggested that the medio-passive *in-i* lost its aoristic force as early as the Iranian period and became equivalent to a simple preterite tense.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the transcription employed in this article, see the editorial note at the end of the volume.

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